

MEMPHIS POLICE DEPARTMENT

OPERATIONAL ASSESSMENT

CRIME CONTROL

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Introduction

The City of Memphis and the Memphis Police Department retained the Police Executive Research Forum (PERF) to conduct an assessment of the Memphis Police Department. The intent of the assessment is to assist the Memphis Police Department with recommendations for improvement in operations and/or to implement best practices in policing.

This report focuses on topics related to crime control strategies. This report is written to specifically address the following questions:

- *What strategies and tactics is the MPD using to reduce and prevent crime, violence and disorder? How are the results of such efforts being measured and reported to the public?*
- *How does the Memphis Police Department use crime related information at the various levels of the Memphis Police Department to meet the tactical, strategic, administrative, and management needs of the department?*
- *How does the department assess whether the information is analyzed and disseminated in a manner that contributes to effective decision-making and performance evaluation by the various levels of the department?*
- *How does the department synthesize its community policing efforts with its anti-crime focus?*

These questions are addressed in this report in the context of police, mayoral, and crime commission strategies. While the MPD carries out its own crime control strategies, they also contribute activities and resources to the other programs.

Methodology

To carry out his project, PERF applied a methodology that included interviews with MPD staff, observation of operations, data analysis and a review of internal and internet documents and media publications. In some cases, subject matter experts outside of the Memphis PD were consulted. Secondary interviews and observations were conducted as needed.

This report is final report in a group of five reports. The first report is related to staffing and organization structure. Subsequent reports addressed the following issues:

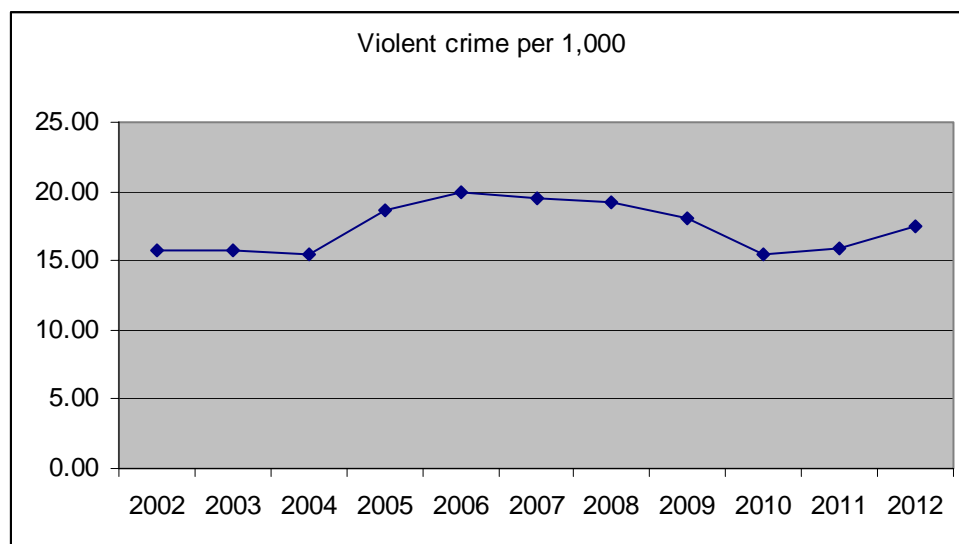
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- Training and Personnel
- Community Engagement.
- Transparency and Accountability.

Together the five reports comprise the entire assessment conducted by PERF.

Crime in Memphis

Over the last decade¹, the City of Memphis has been plagued by high crime rates; however, crime rates have declined in the last six years. Some of the decline has been attributed to various crime control initiatives. The following chart depicts the violent crime² rate in Memphis from 2002 to 2012 as compiled by the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports.³ It takes into account population changes in Memphis during the last 11 years.



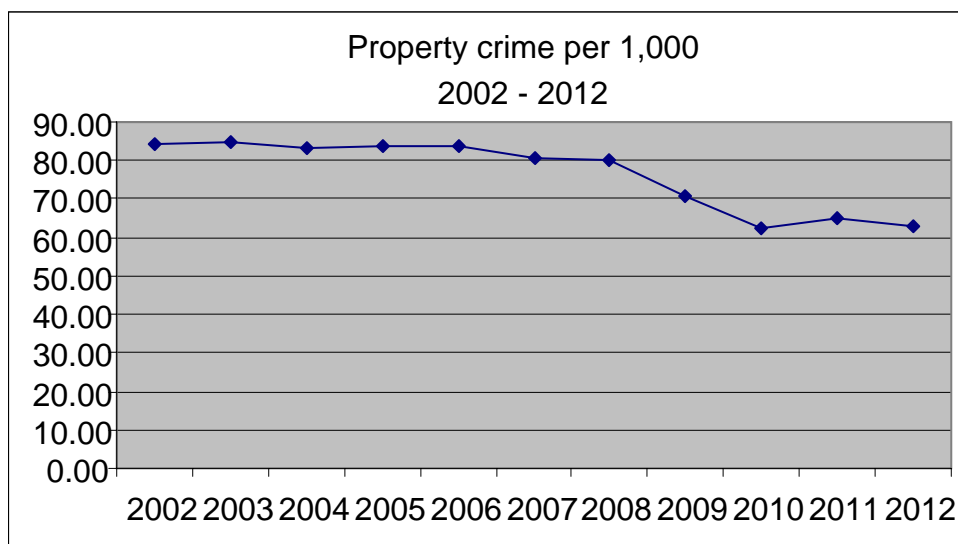
The chart depicts a rise in violent crime from the years 2002 to 2007, with a decline beginning 2008. The decline ended in 2010, with an increase in violent crime occurring in 2011 followed by another increase in 2012. Still, the violent crime rate in the last two years is still substantially lower than the 2006 peak.

¹ Internal Memphis Police Crime numbers are presented over a 11 year period.

² Violent crime is a category used by the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. Violent crime is composed of four offenses: murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault.

³ Generally, caution should be used in interpreting UCR figures. The UCR only counts crime "reported" to the police. Some portion of all crime is not reported. The UCR is the only standard measure of crime available.

The next chart depicts rate of property crimes⁴ in Memphis from the years 2002 to 2012

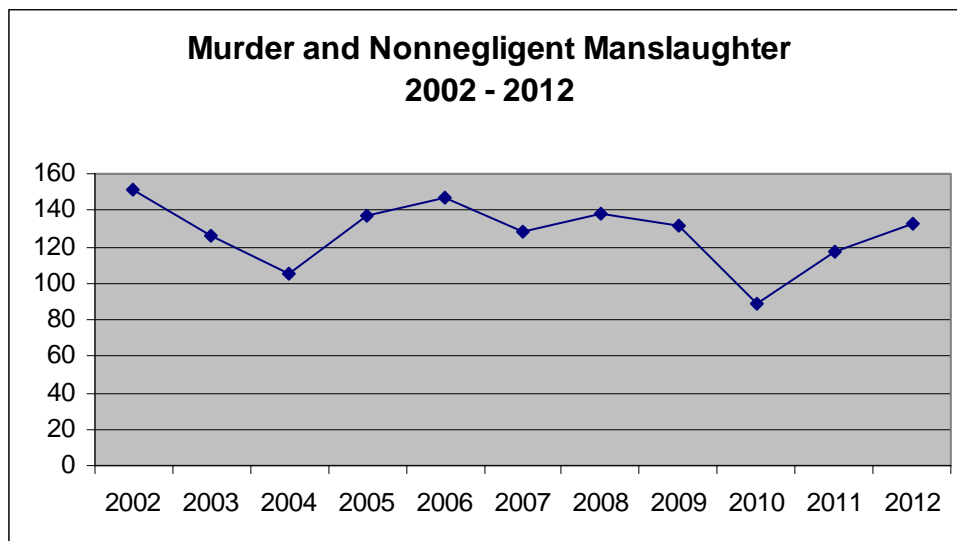


The property crime rate in Memphis remained somewhat constant from 2002 to 2008, with a reduction in property crimes occurring from 2008 to 2010. There was a slight uptick in property crimes in 2011 but the rate in 2012 dropped .

Breakdown of individual Crime Types

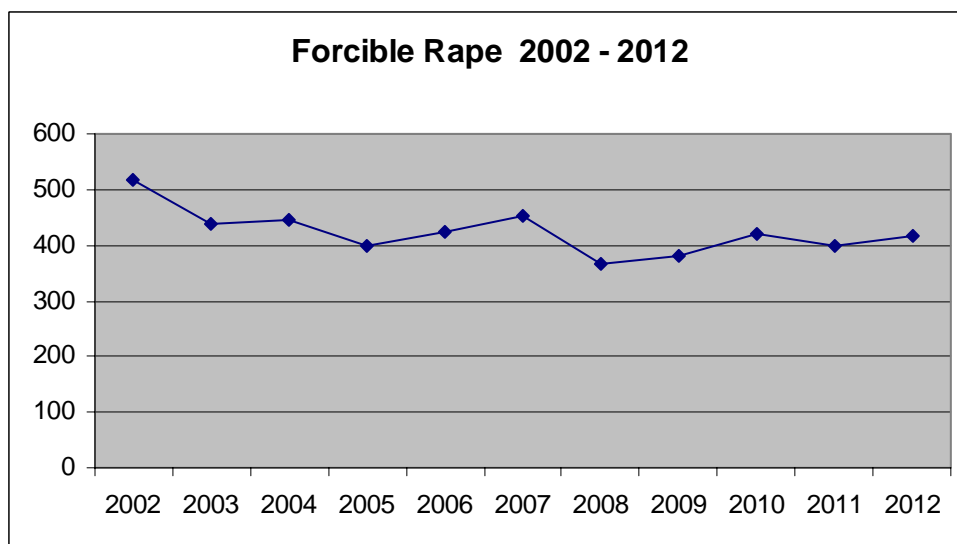
The FBI's Uniform Reports breaks down crimes into a number of different categories. The following charts depict changes in the Memphis number of crimes from 2002 through 2012, in eight different categories. The first chart depicts the number of murders and non-negligent manslaughters since 2002.

⁴ In the FBI's Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Program, property crime includes the offenses of burglary, larceny-theft, motor vehicle theft, and arson.



The rate of decline of murder and non-negligent manslaughter crimes is not as linear as is the overall downward trend in crime in Memphis since 2006. The highest peaks were in 2002 and 2006, with a more substantial drop occurring in 2010. In 2011 there was an upturn followed by another increase in 2012. The 2012 level is still below the peak in 2006.

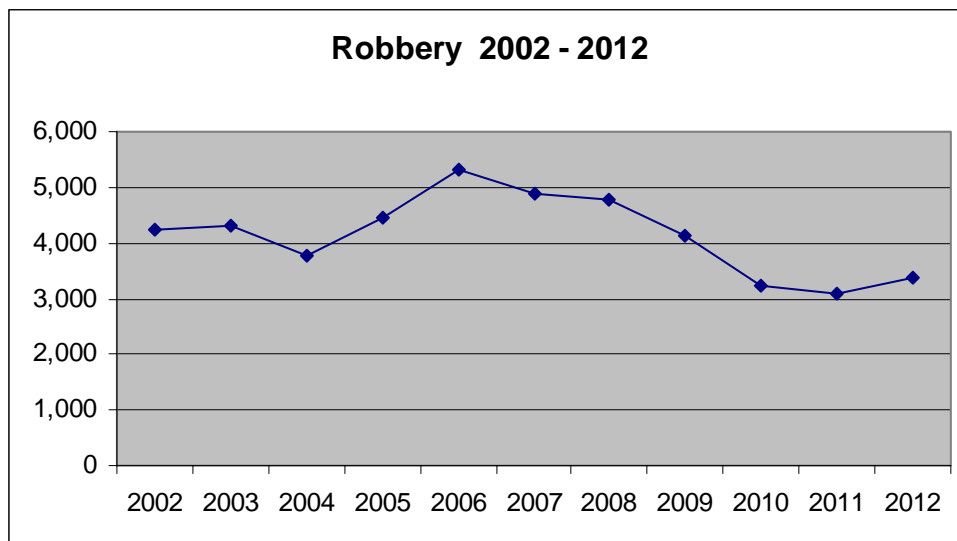
The number of rapes per 1,000 is shown in the next chart.



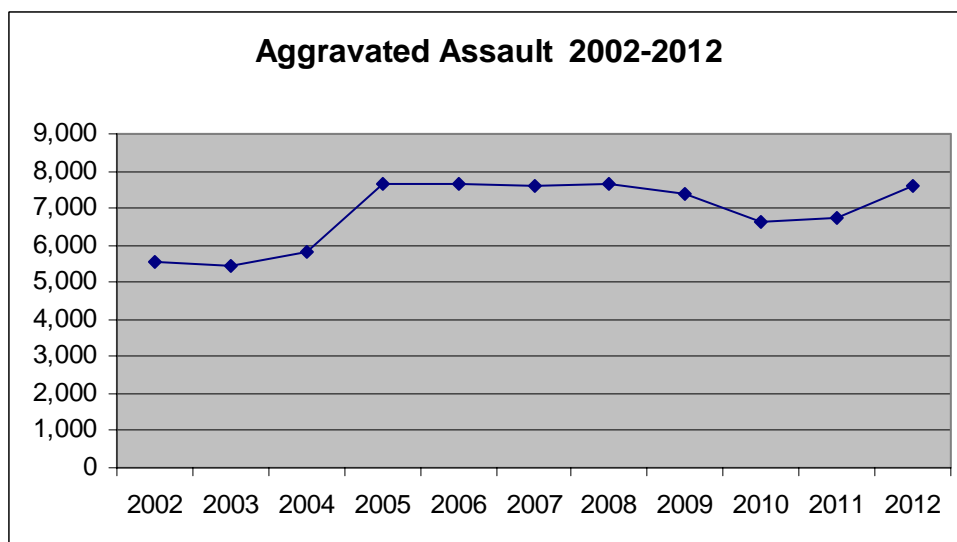
The number of forcible rapes has been somewhat constant during the period. The most rapes were reported in 2002, the fewest in 2008. 2012 saw a slight increase over 2011.

The next chart shows the number of robberies.

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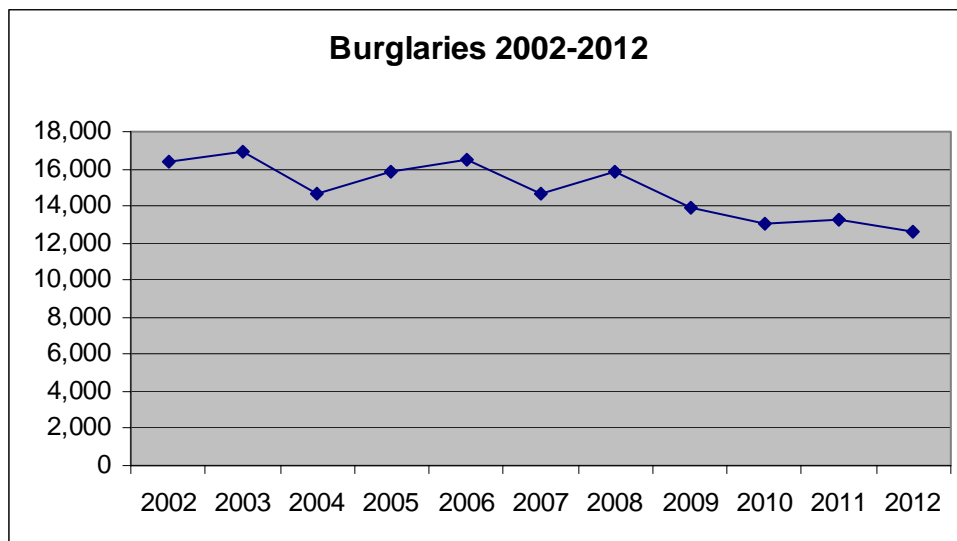
Like the general violent crime rate in Memphis, the rate of robberies peaked in 2006, and had been steadily declining until the increase in 2012.



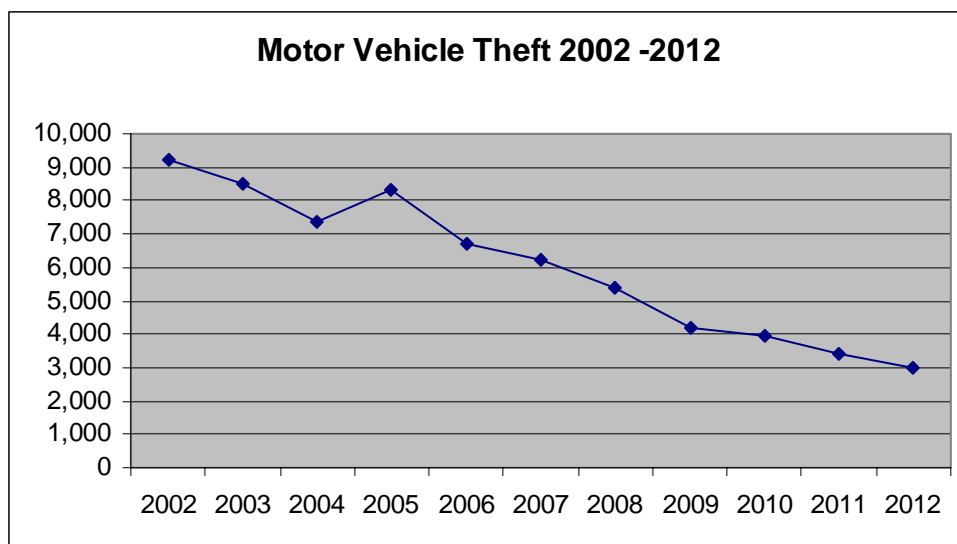
The number of aggravated assaults grew from their lowest levels in 2002, peaking in a period from 2005 to 2009. Drops in the number of aggravated assaults occurred in 2009 to 2011 but 2012 saw an increase.

All four violent crime categories have increased in 2012 from 2011. The next four charts show the number of property crime during the same time period.

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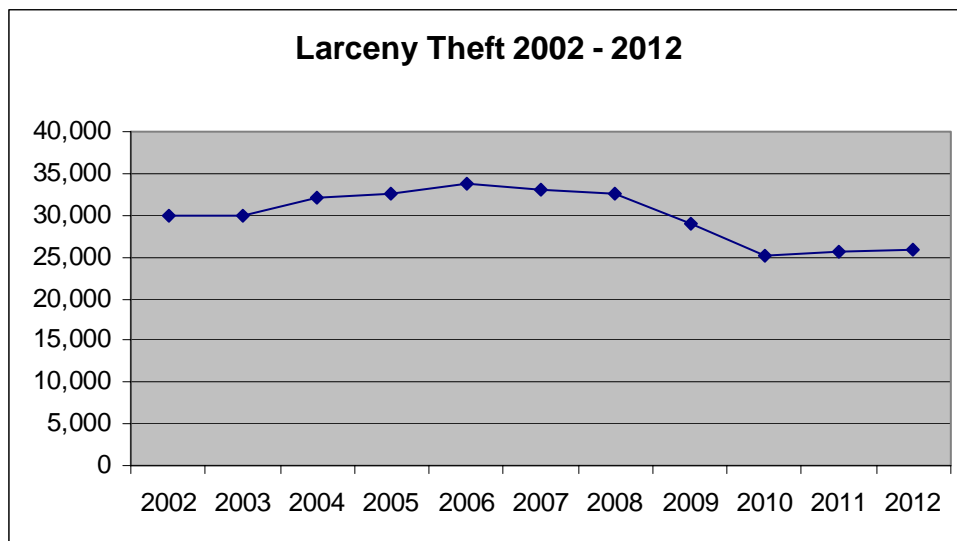


The number of burglaries in Memphis peaked in 2003. While there was a general downward trend in burglaries up until 2011, other peaks in the burglary were seen in 2006 and 2008. The rate was lowest for the entire 11 year period in 2012.

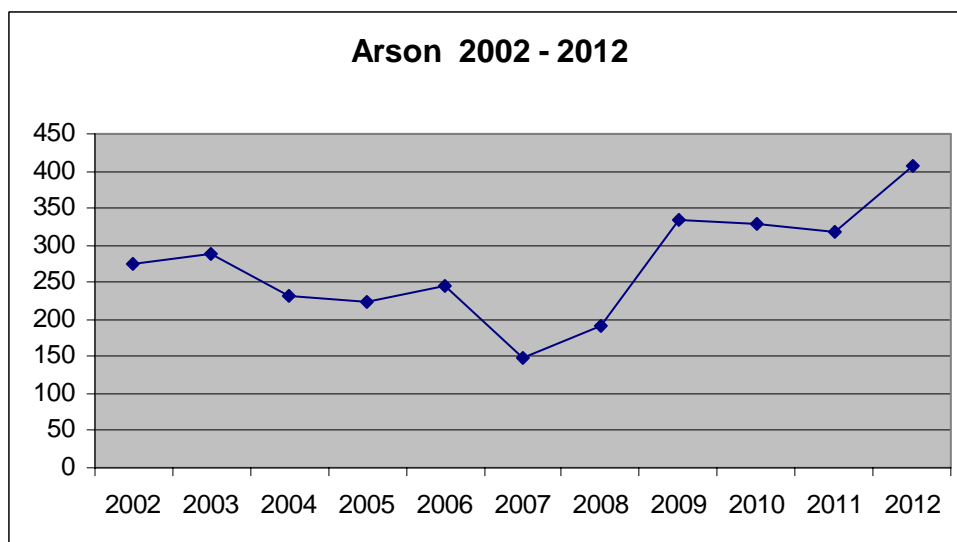


The number of motor vehicle thefts in Memphis has had the most dramatic decline of all crimes since 2002. There was a slight increase in motor vehicle thefts in 2004. Otherwise the decline in this type of crime has continued through 2012.

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The number of larceny theft in Memphis had been relatively constant until a decline started in 2007. There have been increases most recently in 2011 and 2012.



The number of arson incidents in Memphis has been volatile. From the lowest rate of arson in 2007, the number of arson crimes increased until 2010 and has now peaked in 2012.

Crime Rate Summary

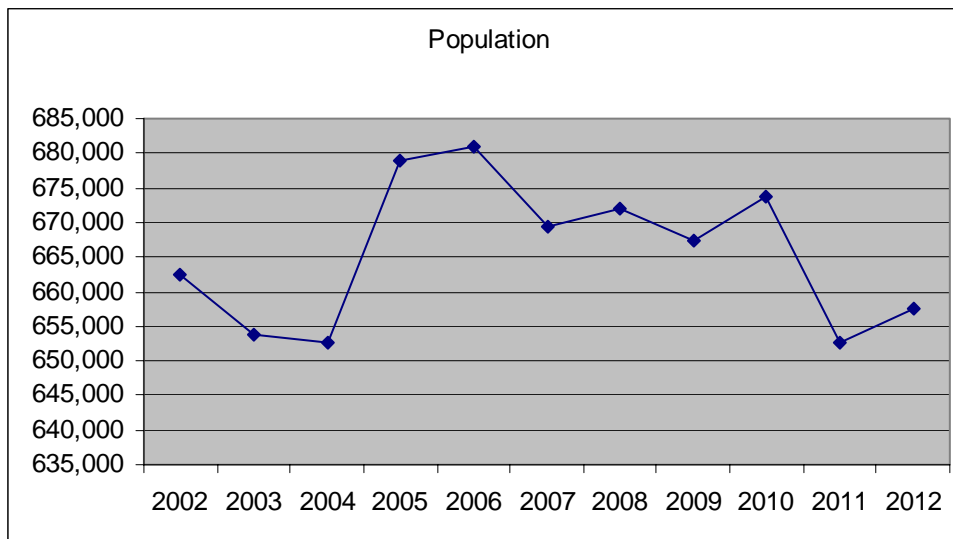
The following table describes the changes in specific types of crime since 2006, the year in which Memphis had the highest level of crime in most crime categories.

Crime Type	2006 Total	2012 Total	Percentage Change
<i>Murder and Non-Negligent Manslaughter</i>	147	133	-9.5%
<i>Forcible Rape</i>	425	417	-1.9%
<i>Robbery</i>	5,311	3,382	-36.3%
<i>Aggravated Assault</i>	7,661	7,573	-1.1%
<i>Burglary</i>	16,450	12,570	-23.6%
<i>Larceny-Theft</i>	33,736	25,974	-23.0%
<i>Motor Vehicle Theft</i>	6,719	2,967	-55.8%
<i>Arson</i>	246	407	65.4%

Despite some increases in 2012 over 2011, especially in violent crimes, since 2006, crime has decreased in all of the crime categories except arson. Some of the decreases have been substantial. In the case of robbery, burglary, and theft, the most notable decreases have occurred after 2008.

Population Levels and Crime

From 2002 to 2011 the population of Memphis⁵ has fluctuated. The following chart depicts the population over the last 11 years.



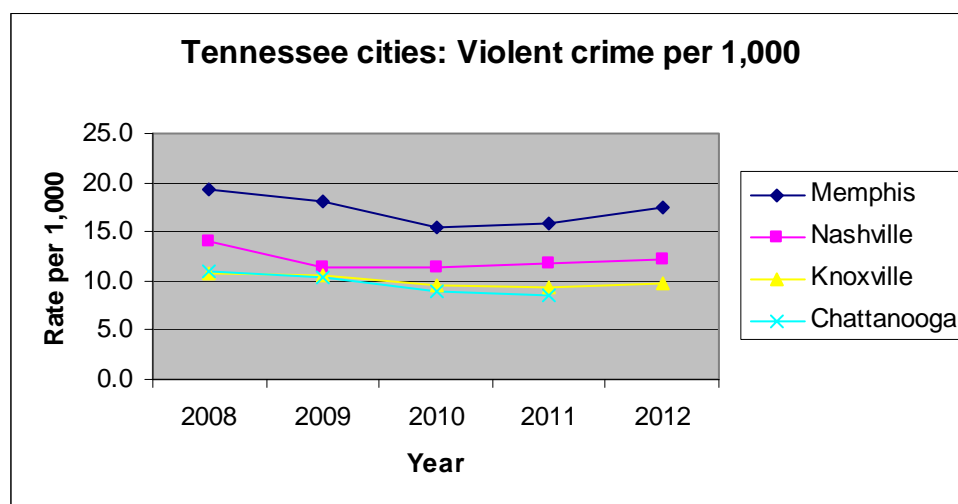
⁵ The source of these numbers is from the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, the same sources of the crime figures.

Violent crime in Memphis was highest in 2006, the same year that population had reached its peak. Although the relationship between crime and population through this 11 year period is not completely linear, the chart show a trend towards crime reduction when the population decreased. An anomaly occurs in 2011, when the population dropped as violent crime rates increased. The comparisons suggest that there may be somewhat of a relationship between population and violent crime in Memphis. The potential relationship should be viewed with caution, as there are other variables that may have more of an impact on the incidence of crime.

In contrast to violent crime rates, the incidence of property crimes had remained relatively constant form 2002 to 2007 then began to drop off in 2008. The incidence of property crime reached its lowest level in 2010, a year in which the population of Memphis was somewhat higher.

Crime in Comparable Cities

To put the Memphis crime figures into context, the crime rates of other major cities in Tennessee were used as a basis of comparison. The following chart depicts a five year comparison of violent crime in four Tennessee cities.

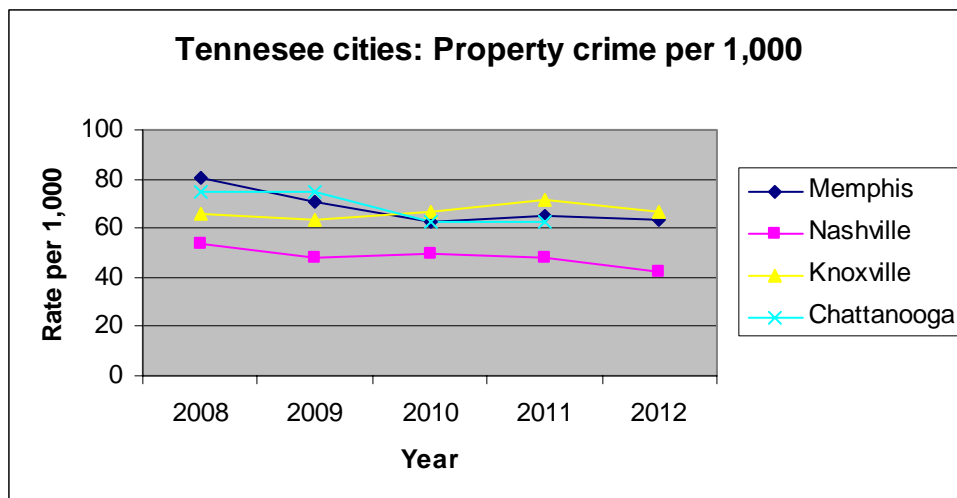


* Note: 2012 data was not available for Chattanooga

Memphis had the highest violent crime rate for each of the comparison years. In each city there were peaks in 2008 followed by declines until 2011. Memphis, Nashville and Knoxville all had increases in 2011 and 2012.

Property crime rates for the four cities are show in the next chart.

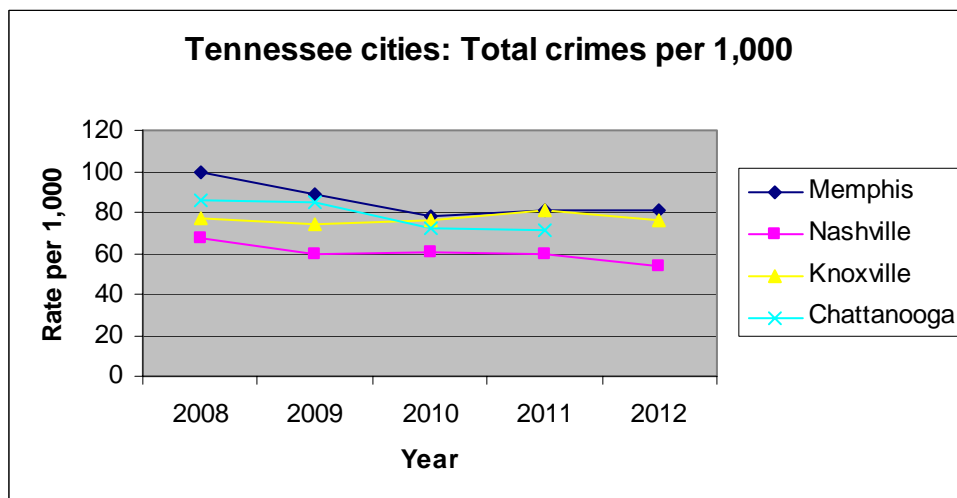
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* Note: 2012 data was not available for Chattanooga

Knoxville has had the highest property crime rate over the last several years. Memphis, Nashville and Knoxville have all had declining rates in 2012.

The next chart shows the total UCR Part 1 (violent crimes and property crimes) per 1,000 from 2008 through 2012.

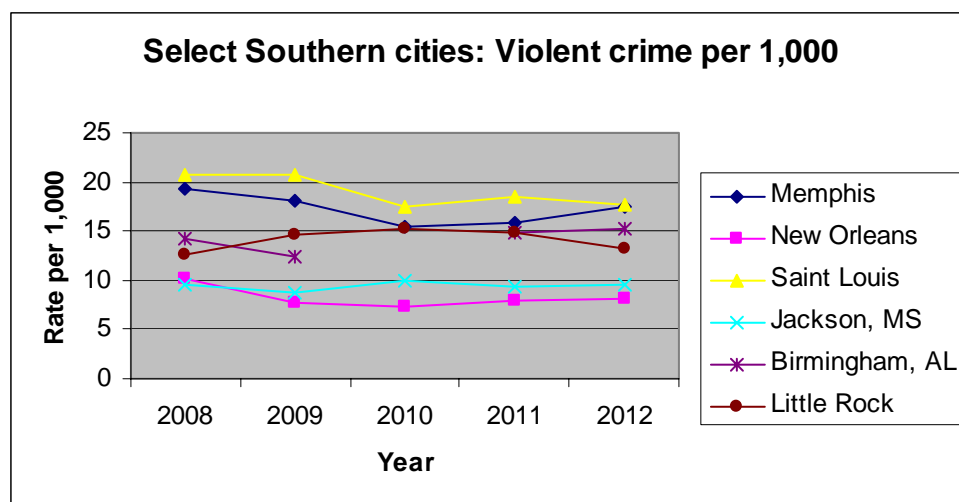


* Note: 2012 data was not available for Chattanooga

The chart above shows that Memphis had a higher total crime rate than the other cities but that its rate is now comparable to Knoxville.

Memphis Police Department Crime Control Strategies

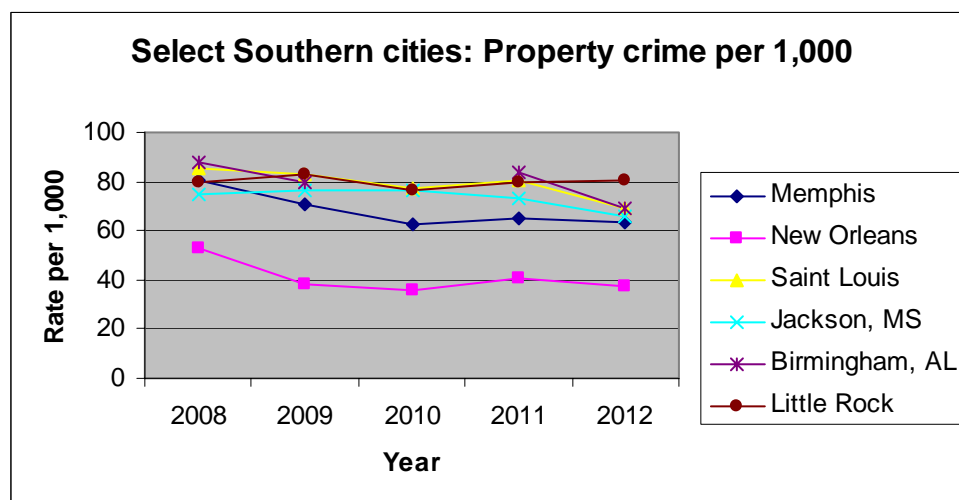
The crime rate in Memphis was also compared to other cities in the South and to Saint Louis because of its location on the Mississippi River. The data for New Orleans may not be reliable because of record keeping difficulties stemming from the Hurricane Katrina catastrophe.



* Note: data was not available for Birmingham for all the years.

Saint Louis has had the highest violent crime rate over the last five years, followed by Memphis.

The next chart compares the cities according to their property crime rates.

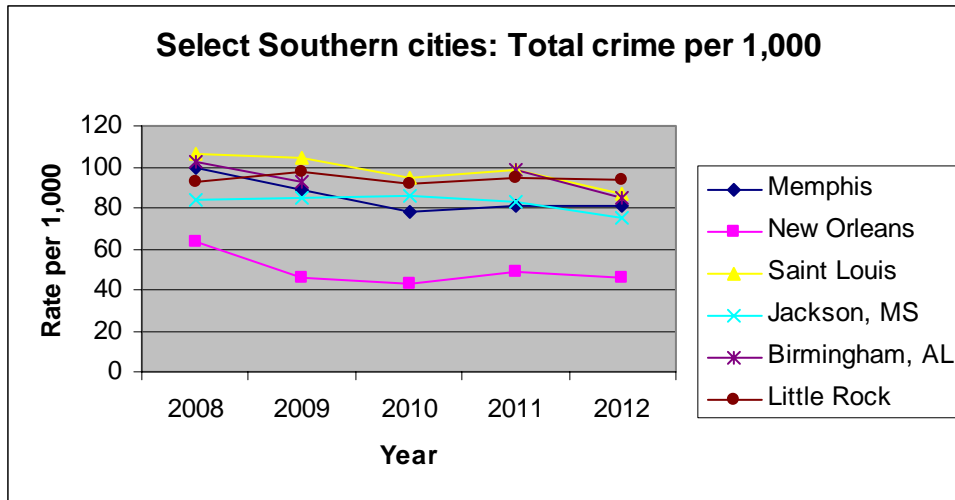


* Note: data was not available for Birmingham for all the years.

Saint Louis, Jackson, Birmingham and Little Rock have all had higher property crime rates than Memphis.

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The final chart shows the total UCR Part 1 crime rate for each city.



* Note: data was not available for Birmingham for all the years.

For the last several years, the total crime rate in Memphis is close to that of Jackson. Saint Louis, Little Rock and Birmingham have all had higher total crime rates.

Generally, there has been a reduction in violent crime throughout the country over the last several years. Crime reductions have been attributed to a number of factors, including changing demographics and improved policing strategies.

Comparisons to National Trends

The following table compares the City of Memphis with national trends related to violent crime. It depicts percentage changes between 2006 and 2012.

Memphis Violent Crime Rate Compared to National Violent Crime Rate, 2006 to 2012

	2006 Violent Crimes	2012 Violent Crimes	Percentage Change
Memphis	13,544	11,505	-15.05%
National	1,418,043	1,218,007	-14.11%

While the number of crimes in the United States has been decreasing over the last 6 years, the rate of decline is greater in Memphis, despite the recent increases. The next table depicts the same comparison for property crimes.

Memphis Property Crime Rate Compared to National Property Crime Rate, 2006 to 2012

	2006 Property Crimes	2012 Property Crimes	Percentage Change
Memphis	56,905	41,484	-27.10%
National	9,983,568	9,135,678	-8.49%

Property crimes in Memphis have decreased more dramatically than the national pace.

Summary: Crime in Memphis

Since 2006 when crime peaked in Memphis, both violent crime and property crime have declined. The overall declines in Memphis are greater than the national rates. When compared to other cities in Tennessee and in the south, Memphis is not atypical. Overall, property crime has continued to decline. Worrying however have been recent increases, especially in 2012, in violent crime. The next section of this report describes how Memphis has addressed its crime problems.

Crime Control and Reduction Strategies

- *Question 1 - What strategies and tactics is the MPD using to reduce and prevent crime, violence and disorder? How are the results of such efforts being measured and reported to the public?*

Crime control strategies⁶ in the City of Memphis are diverse and complex and are carried out by multiple organizations. Some are the result of collaboration between police practitioners and researchers. Others involve multiple law enforcement agencies, government agencies, and community organizations. The primary MPD crime control strategies include the following.

- Blue Crime Reduction Using Statistical History (CRUSH).
- Tracking for Responsibility, Accountability and Credibility (TRAC).
- Gun Down- a comprehensive strategy to reduce gun violence developed by the Memphis Mayor's Innovation Delivery Team.
- Operation Safe Community (a public-private collaboration spearheaded by the Memphis Shelby Crime Commission.) based on Project Safe Neighborhoods originally led by the U.S. Attorney's Office for the Western District of Tennessee (Memphis was one of the original Department of Justice Strategic Approaches to Community Safety sites.)
- The Memphis Police Department's Community Outreach Program (COP).
- Project Safeways.

These programs are coordinated and are interdependent. The community-based initiatives rely on police department participation in providing data and carrying out activities that are critical components of the specific program. The programs reflect both strategic and tactical approaches to the crime problem in Memphis. Strategic programs

⁶ Much of this section of the report is based on information supplied by Dr. Richard Janikowski, Associate Professor in the Department of Criminology and Criminal Justice at the University of Memphis. Dr. Janikowski is the primary architect of MPD's Blue CRUSH crime control initiative. Some of the information comes from unpublished internal university and police department documents, grant applications and award nominations.

aim at broad change, especially reductions in youth violence. Tactical crime control approaches are used in the police department, and are designed to address small scale specifically targeted crime issues. Regardless of focus, the initiatives in Memphis all have a common predecessor – Blue CRUSH.

Blue CRUSH

The Memphis Police Department describes its program *Crime Reduction Using Statistical History (Blue Crushtm)* as having *evolved from a pilot operation to a department-wide philosophy. The Police Services command staff has developed a comprehensive plan to significantly reduce street crime by deploying the Department's resources in a sustained and proactive manner. The Department, now restructured (Felony Assault Unit, Criminal Apprehension Team, Safe Streets Task Force, etc.), will allow more effective integration of its manpower, resources and intelligence gathering to continue to reduce crime.*

Crime in Memphis, as described earlier, remained stubbornly high during the middle part of the last decade. Search for a new approach to deal with crime lead to high level meetings involving the leadership of the Memphis Police Department, the department's Organized Crime Unit (OCU), the District Attorney and Richard Janikowski, a professor of criminology at the University of Memphis. Together, the team sketched out a scenario of the current crime situation and the following goals.

- Reduce the rate of rising crime.
- Do more effective policing despite frozen (or sometimes even shrinking) budgets.
- Help Memphis citizens feel safe despite growing disenchantment.

These discussions ultimately lead to the development of Blue CRUSH which forms the underpinnings of the Memphis Police Department's crime and violence control efforts. Blue CRUSH was designed to be an evolving multi-dimensional strategy- it is why it often seems that multiple anti-crime efforts are conducted under its umbrella.

Changing Information into Actionable Knowledge

As part of this new effort, MPD agreed to regularly share key crime data with Dr. Janikowski and his colleagues. Using this crime data, Janikowski's job was to develop an analytical framework that would be used as the basis for a pilot program, the results of which would shed light on which analytical and operational approaches worked and

which didn't. Janikowski and his team, using IBM predictive analytics software, helped the department develop new statistical analyses that would greatly enhance the department's efforts to address specific crime problems.

The effort was designed to not only identify crime trends and patterns but to understand them at a level of detail so that specific tactics could be crafted to maximize the impact of police operations. Of equivalent importance was the development of analytical tools to measure the impact of these highly focused police efforts – would they work the way they were expected to? Could the information gained from close measurement of one operation be used to make subsequent operations of like nature more effective?

If this new approach were to achieve its maximum potential, it was thought, Blue CRUSH could become the foundation for a new business model involving an organizational commitment to data-driven decision-making and management. It could trigger a cultural shift by providing tools to share data openly and to greater effect.

To ensure that the department could develop effective responses to the newly identified and detailed crime problems, the department undertook – with assistance from Janikowski's team – an assessment of its organizational structure, deployment and effectiveness of investigative bureaus and specialized units, and of its internal mechanisms for assuring accountability and responsibility.

There was an early recognition that the approach would need to be launched as a time-limited pilot program to allow for experimentation with analytic techniques and new tactics and units. Past experience has shown that all too often in police agencies untested city-wide initiatives fail because of implementation problems and lack of support from line officers.

Deployment Timeline

The Blue CRUSH experiment began with changes in the way data was analyzed. This better information was used to test new tactics and unit configurations. Shortly after Blue CRUSH was announced in 2005, MPD conducted a series of test pilot operations in selected precincts.

Predictive analytics software was applied to past and current crime information to evaluate incident patterns throughout the city—in areas as wide as the city's entire nine precincts or narrowed down to a single block. Maps and charts of crime patterns were

generated based on type of criminal offense, time of day, day of week or various victim/offender characteristics.

These maps were then used to specifically focus investigative and patrol resources. Operations were designed to take back neighborhoods one street at a time. During the pilot operations researchers used a quasi-experimental design to measure differences in crime trends and arrest trends between precincts and wards with heavy police intervention and those without such focus.

Another set of measures was used to assess the impact of large saturation operations which included small focused tactics to determine whether crime conditions after the operations significantly differed from those before it. Supplementing these measurements were qualitative designs using focus groups and individual interviews with line officers, investigators, first-line supervisors, and commanders to assess effectiveness of data packages, distribution and use of data, and effectiveness of tactics.

Pilot operations in the select precincts tested new data analysis designed for commanders, supervisors and patrol officers, along with new evidence-based tactics based on extensive best practices research. Blue CRUSH analysis was used to identify evolving crime hot spots and to develop plans for addressing these hot spots with enhanced patrols, directed taskforces and coordination with specialized units.

To enhance effectiveness these pilot operations were designed to use resources that transcended traditional unit boundaries such as uniform patrol just to responding to calls for service, traffic officer just writing tickets, and K-9 officers doing random patrol until called to assist with a hidden suspect. Instead, the department sought to convey the principle that crime reduction was *every* officer's responsibility and that units (including specialized units) would be deployed and efforts coordinated by using data and information to target crime hot spots.

In addition to this new "crime fighting generalist" emphasis the department created new specialized units to take advantage of the new information supplied by Blue CRUSH analysis. In January 2006, MPD created a new unit, the Criminal Apprehension Team (CAT), located within the Organized Crime Unit, and staffed with a cadre of experienced investigators. The new unit was to be used in an integrated manner with other units. Its focus was on street-level crimes where crime patterns and/or specific problematic crime areas had been identified by Blue CRUSH methodology. It included elements from the

Hispanic Action Response Team and former members of the Metro Gang Unit working in cooperation with Project Safe Neighborhoods and the Auto Cargo Theft Task Force.

Another specialized unit resulted from thorough analysis of clearance rates. Aggravated Assaults (those involving a weapon or serious injury) were being cleared at an unacceptably low rate. Aggravated assault cases had been assigned to the General Assignment Bureau, which handles all investigations except for homicide, sexual assault, burglary and economic crimes. There was no prioritization for these crimes of violence that often are essentially “failed” homicides. Therefore the department created the Felony Assault Unit (FAU) staffed with experienced investigators tasked with concentrating on these crimes. Within a year the clearance rate for aggravated assault was substantially improved.

Implementing Blue CRUSH Department Wide.

The crime control success documented in the pilot tests combined with the organizational structural improvements convinced MPD leadership that Blue CRUSH should implemented department wide. Part of the rationale for this move was to enable the department to extend its resources intelligently in a period where increased police personal were not forthcoming due to city revenue constraints. Beginning in late 2006, each precinct commander was provided overtime funding along with the flexibility to make their own deployment decisions based on intelligence provided by Blue CRUSH. Results in terms of crime trends would be rigorously measured and commanders held accountable for their performance.

Enhancing Crime Analysis

Key to the success of this effort was an enhanced emphasis on crime analysis. The department reconfigured the Crime Analysis Unit into a centralized unit working out of a newly developed MPD Real Time Crime Center. By working collaboratively, the analysts were able to expose new patterns and series of crimes. The crime analysis unit developed daily diagnostic reports using predictive analytics tools that showed crime trends and patterns in the precincts.

Both civilian and officer analysts were initially trained by Janikowski’s team in statistical and spatial analysis. During the process, the interactions between the analysts for each

precinct were restructured, and analysts gained broader perspective by drawing from the insights of both officers and civilians.

Summary: Blue CRUSH

Memphis Crime control programs, supported through Blue CRUSH analysis are on the leading edge of crime control initiatives in the United States. The program is comprehensive and integrated based on the knowledge of researchers, the experience of street officers, and the power of tools that enable predictive analytics. The Blue Crush program did not evolve piecemeal, but was developed in a systematic way. A core element was the use of small experiments to measure outcomes. The Blue Crush Program has been examined by many other agencies to determine how its successes can be replicated elsewhere.

The program continues to inform organizational change. In February of 2013, the duties of the Burglary, Felony Theft, General Assignment, Robbery and Vehicle Theft bureaus were consolidated into the General Investigative Bureau. These detectives were decentralized so that each precinct has GIB resources.

Additionally, in 2013, the Memphis Police Department reconfigured its station and ward boundaries. PERF suggested in one of our earlier reports that officers should be re-allocated to even the call load among precincts. The Blue CRUSH analytical tools facilitated a review by the MPD Crime Analysis Unit, the University of Memphis and the MPD Command Staff of 2010, 2011 and 2012 calls for service citywide and by precinct. MPD staff identified a huge disparity in the number of calls for service among precincts. Consequently boundaries were shifted to equalize workload

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TRAC: Fostering Accountability

One of the biggest Blue CRUSH successes from a management perspective was accountability. The experiences of other departments in analytical police work—as well as the MPD’s early efforts—showed the importance of rigorous and consistent reporting practices, employing common metrics, across precincts. This type of rigor was accomplished through Blue CRUSH in two ways:

- The implementation of a standardized reporting template for all commanders, thus discouraging the tendency to report on only the most favorable results thus avoiding meaningful direct comparisons.
- Reinforcing the message (and removing all ambiguity) was the decision to rename weekly crime strategy sessions **TRAC** (Tracking for Responsibility, Accountability and Credibility) meetings. The fact that TRAC meetings are also a forum for precinct commanders to share their ideas—and, in many cases, learn from each other’s mistakes—is an outgrowth of the more open culture the department was trying to create.

Before TRAC, MPD used a monthly “CompStat” approach, modeled after the New York Police Department crime accountability system. Once a month one precinct commander reported crime trends and patterns in his/her precinct and plans to deal with the most prominent crime problems. There was no standardized form of reporting so selective interpretations of crime could occur. No minutes of the meetings were kept so no follow-up took place nor could an inventory of what worked be established.

The on-going TRAC meetings now have precincts commanders review precinct specific crime problems, their plans to deal with them and the results of past operations. The process is collaborative with the command staff and peers discussing what worked, what didn’t and how to adjust tactics in the coming week.

Because the precincts use Blue CRUSH analysis there is much greater understanding of underlying crime trends. Longer-term factors (like abandoned housing) can be considered. Primary measurements include crime trends – annual comparisons, offense category trends, monthly trends (both calendar and 28 day trends) and weekly variations. Statistics including mean, median and standard deviations are used to determine significant trends.

Activities are also tracked including the number of task forces, saturation patrols, offender contacts, and arrests. Commanders are encouraged to discuss various strategies being used, community issues providing challenges, community partnerships established, and results of community meetings. What works and what doesn’t are also topics for discussion so that commanders can learn from each other in a non-confrontational manner.

Mayor's Crime Control Initiatives

Mayor A. C. Wharton, Jr. and his staff have been active in initiating and carrying out crime control initiatives, particularly those related to gun crime. Among others, the Mayor has initiated the following program.

Gun Down

The Mayor's Innovation Delivery Team, supported by grant funding, has been a key actor in reaching out to a diverse group of community leaders to determine what might be done about youth violence and gun crime. In order to identify potential crime control strategies for Memphis, the team has analyzed programs conducted in other cities.

The group's stated goal is to reduce youth gun violence in Memphis by 10 percent citywide and 20 percent in two target areas. Their initiatives include the development of:

- A Retaliatory Violence Project in South Memphis, to prevent retribution motivated violence.
- A Youth Intervention Team that assigns case workers to mentor and monitor at-risk youths on a one-on-one basis.

In order to carry out these initiatives, the Innovation Delivery Team has employed the following strategies and tactics.

- Training police officers to spot conflicts and prevent their escalation.
- Contacting victims of shootings at hospitals to prevent retaliation.
- Targeting offenders under the age of 24 in two areas of the city with more aggressive prosecution and higher bail for people involved in gun crimes.
- Enhancing the police department's community policing efforts by having officers make door-to-door contacts in the two targeted areas of the City.
- Providing assistance to newly released felons.
- Working with large apartment complexes to improve safety.

In January of 2013, Mayor Wharton announced the integrated Gun Down initiative. This plan seeks to create an on-going focus and anti-violence campaign to reduce youth gun violence in Memphis. According to the Mayor's announcement "the evidence-based Memphis Gun Down Plan has five core prongs that are already underway.

1. Suppression: Placing laser focus of law-enforcement efforts on the small percentage of young men who are committing gun violence.

2. Mobilizing everyone in our community against this epidemic by pulling together young people, neighborhood residents, community organizations and law enforcement to shift committee perception away from a culture of acceptance toward one or gun violence is simply not tolerated.
3. Promoting jobs and opportunities, as well as placing emphasis on building the educational and technical skills of young people.
4. Investing in intervention: a coordinated approach to intervening at the first sign of potential violence in the streets, schools and hospitals.
5. Transforming policies, practices and systems in our city to reduce youth gun violence.

This plan draws on other anti-crime initiatives under way in Memphis to create a strategic focus on youth gun violence. Many of the elements draw directly from the information driven approach embodied in Blue CRUSH. For example, “the Memphis Police Department, partnered with federal, state and county law enforcement to form the Multi-Agency Gang Unit in 2012. MGU is a cohesive team of law enforcement agencies that specifically target gangs and gang members with the mission of eradicating gang activity [from Memphis]. This is an information driven enterprise and Blue CRUSH analysis can help identify gang members, gang crimes and the potential for violence between gangs. The predictive analysis capacity of Blue CRUSH may be especially useful in identifying possible flash point for violence and identifying intervention opportunities,

Safeways II (described more fully below) is “a data-driven strategy to curb violent crime in apartment complexes and adjacent areas.” This coordinated crime reduction effort brings law enforcement, community leaders, and apartment management together to target and reduce crime in specific “hot spots,” using the best in data analysis and police tools. This is a prime opportunity to use Blue CRUSH.

Memphis Shelby Crime Commission

In January of 2012, The Memphis Shelby Crime Commission produced an action agenda for *Operation: Safe Community*, a multi-disciplinary crime reduction initiative that was originally launched in 2006. Since that time, the Crime Commission has said that violent crime in Memphis is down 23% and major property crime is down 26%. The Mayor’s Innovation Delivery Team and the police department are viewed in the plan as a resources used to implement some of the key strategies. The Crime Commission credits

the police division's Blue Crush program as a major factor in the dramatic reductions of crime in Memphis during the first five years of *Operation: Safe Community*.

The 2012 iteration of the plan contains five high level goals related to crime control.

Those goals are:

- Reduce violence in the home
- Reduce gang and drug crime
- Reduce blight, problem properties, and crime in apartment complexes.
- Reduce adult repeat offenses.
- Reduce youth violence

To achieve these goals, the Commission has developed 26 strategies, along with related action items. The success of the strategies and initiatives are assessed using three types of metrics. The highest level measurements (goal indicators) are as follows.

Goal 1: Reduce Violence in the Home Indicators

- The number of domestic violence arrests in Memphis and unincorporated Shelby County and possibly suburban municipalities.
- The number of domestic violence arrests/active cases that are repeat offenders in Memphis and unincorporated Shelby County and possibly suburban municipalities.

Goal 2: Reduce Gang and Drug Crime Indicators

- The number of felony drug arrests countywide
- The number of felony drug indictments countywide. .
- The number of reported violent crimes committed by three or more people in Memphis.

Goal 3: Reduce Blight, Problem Properties, and Crime in Apartment Complexes

Indicator

- The number of drug arrests countywide at apartment complexes and other rental properties.

Goal 4: Reduce Adult Repeat Offenses Indicators

- The countywide recidivism rate, with recidivism defined as being re-convicted (and re-incarcerated or placed on supervision) within three years of being released from incarceration or supervision (probation).

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Goal 5: Reduce Youth Violence Indicators

- The number of arrests for Part I Violent Crimes of persons aged 24 and under.
- The percentage of arrests for Part I Violent Crimes involving persons aged 24 and under.
- The number of Part I Violent Crime Victims aged 24 and under.
- The percentage of Part I Violent Crime Victims aged 24 and under.
- The number of school-based offenses.
- The number of school expulsions offenses.

Carrying out the strategies and tasks in the plan is assigned to specific agencies. The Police Division is charged with carrying out the following tasks.

- Maintaining and continuing to refine Blue Crush tactics.
- Ensuring that the number of officers is sufficient to provided reasonable coverage.

The police division also provides resource to address all of the goals of the Crime Commission.

Community Outreach Program (COP)

Question 2 - How does the department synthesize its community policing efforts with its anti-crime focus?

Putting resources in a community short term may reduce crime, but it is likely to spill over into other neighborhoods or return to an original hot spot. MPD recognized the need to think instead in terms of putting resources in a community for longer term and having the department expand its philosophy from just law enforcement to community revitalization. In this model, the police department becomes a facilitator for the community and other agencies to address broader factors behind crime in the communities.

Upon becoming police director, Director Armstrong began the next iteration of the MPD policing management strategy: implementation of the Crime Prevention Bureau and the Community Outreach Program (COP). He articulated a vision whereby the successes of the Blue C.R.U.S.H. strategy can be extended and maintained through consolidation with problem-oriented and community-policing strategies. Director Armstrong's strategic direction articulates how situational strategies, embedded in community policing and problem-oriented policing, address the underlying conditions, situations, and dynamics that cause crime to be concentrated in particular areas, promotes a "harm-reduction" approach using a public health methodology to address crime and disorder (the foundation for Memphis' Youth Violence Prevention Strategic Plan submitted for the National Forum on Youth Violence Prevention,) and engenders positive community perceptions. The MPD's approach recognizes the importance of police not solely relying on a strategy of one-dimensional intensive enforcement but working to enhance community capacity.

The MPD recognized that the concentration of crime at specific hot spot locations within neighborhoods provides an important opportunity for police to make connections with citizens who are most vulnerable to victimization and experience fear and diminished quality of life as a result of ongoing and intense crime and disorder problems. Regrettably, these community members are often the same people who view the police with suspicion and question the legitimacy of police efforts to control crime in their neighborhood. If police can win the hearts and minds of long-suffering community members in hot spot areas, it seems likely to produce larger impacts on the overall legitimacy of police departments in the city than developing stronger relationships with

community members in more stable neighborhoods who are more likely to already have generally positive perceptions of police services.

Applying this model, the MPD has strived to become a facilitator for the community and other agencies to address broader factors behind crime in the communities. MPD concluded, partly on the basis of a substantial and growing body of research, that illicit behavior thrives in communities marked by social disorganization resulting in a weakened capacity to address antisocial behavior.

Absent a strategy that provides for building social capital in neighborhoods following intense law enforcement efforts, the Memphis community believes resurgences in drug markets, accompanied with elevated levels of violence, are all but inevitable. To address certain chronic hot spots that need long-term strategies to reduce reoccurring crime, COP seeks to engage and maintain public support for this effort by:

- Establishing sustained contact with community leaders and neighborhood groups;
- Enabling community empowerment by facilitating and coordinating delivery of critical services by governmental and private-sector agencies to at-risk populations and communities;
- Developing diversified and sustained prevention, intervention and enforcement initiatives;
- Engaging the assistance of various referral agencies and service organizations when needed;
- Recognizing the importance of working to build police legitimacy in the eyes of community members most often plagued by crime yet frequently the most distrustful of police;
- Identifying hot spot areas for youth firearm violence to help prevent crimes in young offenders; and
- Focusing on the human aspect of crimes and listening to citizens—not just data.

While Blue CRUSH significantly reduced city-wide crime, there were still chronic crime hot spots in the city. These hot spots represented disproportionately high concentrations of violent crime, especially firearms-related crime by youth. By incorporating the perspectives of the community and the officers who were on the streets, a look at the day-to-day details in terms of a bigger picture was possible. These included socio-demographics like truancy, poverty, workforce data and challenges associated with

problem properties like vacant buildings. Using the Blue CRUSH data methodology, the chronic crime hot spots for youth firearms violence were identified and incorporated into community policing principles. The goal of this strategy was to drastically lower these offenses. There are regular communications and meetings with precinct commanders and patrol officers to ensure continuing communication about community issues and to coordinate activities.

Safeways

The Safeways program is a direct spin-off of Blue CRUSH. It was first piloted by MPD and the University of Memphis in 2007 to address crime in high-density apartment complexes. Safeways recognized that specific apartment complexes and surrounding neighborhoods located in certain areas of Memphis had become hotbeds for criminal activity since the phasing out of public housing. As has occurred in many other cities, the shutdown of public housing, resulting in the decline of traditional target populations for crime, has resulted in a migration of criminal activity into other neighborhoods in the city. Data analysis demonstrated that in some complexes and neighborhoods there is a high concentration of at-risk individuals and families, accompanied by significantly increased violent and property crime.

Safeways enlists apartment owners, managers, and community residents to engage in “third party policing” in support of law enforcement efforts. The program also features methods to address owners or managers that are reluctant to be involved by use of civil nuisance actions and other measures. The approach uses an array of actions including:

- Law enforcement operations to suppress criminal activity.
- Training in and implementation of property management strategies (including behavior rules for tenants, crime prevention training for managers and owners, use of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED), and tenant screening approaches).
- Implementation of site based services for tenant at risk populations.

Evaluations of the program demonstrated that it has been highly successful in pilot complexes. In March 2013 it was announced that the program was expanding into a stand-alone nonprofit agency funded via a Plough Foundation grant and money from the City’s Gun Down plan

Using Crime Related Information

- *Question 3 - How does the Memphis Police Department use crime related information at the various levels of the Memphis Police Department to meet the tactical, strategic, administrative, and management needs of the department*

Through Blue CRUSH and TRAC the Memphis Police Department has institutionalized its ability to supply rich crime related data to help inform decision making at all levels of the department. The use of crime data transcends the police department and allows enhanced anti-crime planning and decision-making throughout the City and Shelby County.

Internally, as the analytic methodology continues to evolve, MPD is now discovering daily trends and is able to shift officers to a particular ward on short notice. Arrests are being made based on information that was not available before. Commanders of the Investigative Bureaus attend TRAC meetings and regularly provide information about evolving investigations, patterns, and arrests. In addition, Blue CRUSH data is provided to the investigative bureaus along with special analysis developing traditional tracking sheets, geographic tracking sheets, and crime pattern maps.

Detectives, as do precinct commanders and officers, have access to on-line real time maps of incidents. In addition, to the weekly command TRAC meeting, each individual precinct holds its own weekly TRAC meeting to develop plans, share tactics, and monitor progress with supervisors and officers. With the assignment of detectives to the precincts under the direction of the precinct commander General Investigation detectives will be even more fully integrated into use of the data analysis. Quantitative results are measured monthly through a report analyzing violence trends prepared by the University of Memphis and distributed to police commanders and the mayor's Innovation Delivery Team.

The department used crime and workload data for the 2013 realignment of stations and wards. The information enabled the department to make changes to equalize the number of calls in each district. As a result of these changes the MPD expects to "become a proactive police department rather than a reactive department." Crime hot spots can be closely monitored. Precinct commanders can address these problems "by adding more manpower to an affected area by reallocation of Precinct Taskforces and Special Operations Units." Because of access to real time data, a crime problem can be dealt

with after only three or four incidents when it is still relatively minor avoiding its growth into a chronic and embedded crime issue.

External partners of the MPD have been able to craft much more precise anti-crime strategies and tactics. The Mayor's Innovation Delivery Team was able to establish precise targets for the Gun Down Plan. The Memphis Shelby Crime Commission produced excellent results during the first five years of Operation: Safe Community and provided measurable targets for the next phase of the plan. The Safeways Project using MPD information was so successful in addressing crime in target apartment complexes and neighborhoods that it moved from a pilot program to a standalone non-profit agency.

Blue CRUSH represents a significant collaborative innovation for the Memphis Police Department and its research, community and criminal justice partners. The department and the city have made substantial inroads into the crime problems that have plagued Memphis. The strategies and tactics that are in place offer the potential for even greater progress in achieving a safe and secure community.

- *Question 4 - How does the department assess whether the information is analyzed and disseminated in a manner that contributes to effective decision-making and performance evaluation by the various levels of the department?*

TRAC meetings focus on the use of crime and other data for evaluation of department initiatives. Command level meetings are also used to examine department needs. The Real Time Crime Center (RTCC) annually surveys precincts and bureaus to determine data needs, data utilization, and recommendations for changes. A committee of Precinct commanders makes recommendations on changes in data analysis products and displays.

Information is also disseminated to the community. A monthly crime trends report is prepared by the University of Memphis and posted on the MPD website and a more extensive report is distributed to Operation Safe Community and other community organizations. Community residents can sign up for Cyberwatch, use the on-line mapping system maintained by the RTCC, and download incident data which is posted by the RTCC.

Conclusion: Affecting Crime Rates

Attributing changes in crime to a set of interventions carried out by the police department and community groups is a difficult proposition. The Federal Bureau in its Uniform Crime Reports offers a list of factors that all might be related to differences in crime levels. These include:

- Population density and degree of urbanization.
- Variations in composition of the population, particularly youth concentration.
- Stability of the population with respect to residents' mobility, commuting patterns, and transient factors.
- Modes of transportation and highway system.
- Economic conditions, including median income, poverty level, and job availability.
- Cultural factors and educational, recreational, and religious characteristics.
- Family conditions with respect to divorce and family cohesiveness.
- Climate.
- Effective strength of law enforcement agencies.
- Administrative and investigative emphases of law enforcement.
- Policies of other components of the criminal justice system (i.e., prosecution, the judiciary, corrections, and probation).
- Citizens' attitudes toward crime.
- Crime reporting practices of the citizenry.

In addition to these factors, new interventions might have an impact on crimes in particular communities because they include elements such as:

- Multiple crime control programs;
- New crime fighting technologies;
- Changes in how crime information is collected;
- Changes in community behavior and perspective related to certain kinds of crimes; and
- Changes in justice system processing.

Because Memphis is a dynamic city that is changing, and because it has a multitude of crime control programs, it is difficult to attribute all crime reduction to just one program. Going forward it will be important to conduct well structured evaluations to determine what works and what does not work.

However there is a distinct correlation between the creation of Blue CRUSH and the decline in crime beginning in 2006 subsequent to its implementation. The Memphis Police Department makes decisions based on data and uses analysis to deploy and management its resources. Crime still remains below the 2006 peaks.

Memphis is now confronting increases in violent crime. Much of Blue CRUSH and TRAC allowed the department to focus on precise small scale tactical operations. Now the City has begun to implement strategic directions to deal with its most significant crime problems, especially youth violence. The Gun Down Plan and the next phase of Operation: Safe Community are designed to enact a comprehensive approach to deal with both the causes and consequences of violent crime. Their success will depend on rigorous measurement to ensure that what works is repeated over and over. Elements that analysis and evaluation show are not successful will need to be shelved in favor of what does work. The strategic approach now being implemented will require the dedication that Memphis has demonstrated since the crest of its crime problems in 2006. All indicators point toward a renewed vigor to solve the crime problems that vex the City.